



Strengthening Geo-Maritime Resilience through Tourism Geopolitics in Indonesia

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Article Info:	Abstract
Keywords: Cultural Diplomacy, Geo-Maritime Resilience, Hexa Helix, Indo-Pacific, Tourism Geopolitics,	Purpose: This article examines the role of tourism as a soft power instrument in strengthening Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience in the Indo-Pacific through collaborative governance based on the Hexa Helix model that supports cultural diplomacy, civil presence, and maritime sovereignty. Design/Methodology/Approach: This study uses a qualitative approach through a systematic literature review that includes the identification, selection, synthesis, and analysis of literature, policies, and reports related to maritime development. The Hexa-Helix model is applied to assess the involvement of academics, business actors, communities, government, media, and political institutions, with a focus on the Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai loci, in understanding the role of tourism governance in strengthening non-military national resilience. Findings: Results The findings show that tourism makes an evident contribution to reinforcing geo-maritime resilience by increasing the welfare of coastal communities, promoting national identity, and boosting the state's presence in strategic maritime space. Collaborative governance has proven capable of synergising economic, social, cultural, and geopolitical values in a sustainable manner. Originality/Value: This research develops a conceptual framework that integrates soft power theory, the Hexa Helix governance model, and the <i>Asta Gatra</i> framework into a national resilience strategy. This study provides a new perspective for policymakers and academics on utilising tourism as a community-based, non-military approach to strengthen Indonesia's sovereignty and strategic position as the Global Maritime Axis.
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INTRODUCTION

The Indo-Pacific is a strategic space that now reflects the relocation of global geopolitical power centres. The area is the site of competing claims, rivaling allegiances and draining wars between major powers around the maritime commercial lanes, energy fields and politics/security influence on a regional scale. These strains increasingly reflect that maritime security cannot merely rely on the military alone; there are also economic, socio-cultural and international diplomatic considerations. Indonesia, located between the northern Indian Ocean and the southern Pacific, needs an adaptive, multihyphenated national sovereignty-based geo-maritime resilience policy to address this trend.

Geo-maritime resilience is a crucial pillar for the sustainability of an archipelagic nation. Conventional approaches that emphasise maritime defence and surveillance have provided an important foundation, but they have not yet reflected the optimal utilisation of non-military power. The *Asta Gatra* framework as the foundation of national resilience emphasises that national strength rests not only on *Trigatra* (geography, natural resources, and demography), but also on the *Panca Gatra* framework, encompassing ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, and defence and security (Doktoralina, C. M., Igorevna, V. M., Nugroho, L., & Hidayah, N., (2025); Syadzily, T. A. H., 2025). Therefore, a geo-maritime resilience strategy needs to integrate both aspects in a balanced manner to be able to answer strategic challenges in the Indo-Pacific region.

Maritime tourism has become a soft power, which can be used as a tool for diplomacy to deliver social well-being and social harmony at the border region (Daihani D.U., (2024); Sutomo, Y. A., Sianipar, C. P., Hoshino, S., & Onitsuka, K., 2024). By strategic tourism, countries can affirm their sovereignty and project a positive image with a global net. Several works have shown the proximity between tourism and geopolitics (Hall, 2020; Govers & Go, 2009), as well as the role it might influences territorial assertion (Yamauchi, 2017), coastal community empowerment (Nugroho, L., Cetin, G., & Doktoralina, C. M., 2023; Becken & Hay, 2013), and the appeasement that regional cooperation can become (Briandana, R., Doktoralina, C. M., & Sukmajati, D. (2018; Fitriani, 2020). Yet these papers have not gone much further in detailing how tourism can be incorporated into a geo-maritime strategy at the national level that is systemic and adaptable to non-traditional threats.

The research gap arises because most studies still treat tourism as a single economic sector, overlooking the clear national geopolitics that support resilience. In fact, the tourism sector holds significant potential for strengthening the *Panca Gatra* framework through inclusive socio-cultural development, strengthening the economy in border regions, and enhancing public diplomacy capacity. Efforts to close this gap are carried out by positioning strategic tourism as an integral part of Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience strategy based on the *Asta Gatra* framework.

The policy process used is the Hexa Helix model, in which the roles of the academy, business world, communities, government, media, and political institutions are combined to create cross-actor synergy in achieving maritime resilience. This partnership is believed to transform the tourism potential into the strategic capital of reinforcing national identity as well as enlarging people's income (particularly in border communities). The integration of *Asta Gatra* and Hexa Helix leads to 'the tour de force' conceptual framework entitled the Geo-Maritime Tourism Resilience Model, which metaphorically can be considered as a white paper for visualising the triangle relationship among tourism development, diplomacy, and national defence.

This study focuses on Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai, three strategically important outermost islands that play a significant role in safeguarding Indonesia's national sovereignty and maritime security. These regions represent diverse socio-economic and geopolitical, providing a comparative setting for examining how collaboration among Hexa Helix actors influences tourism governance and geo-maritime resilience. Analysing these locations enables a broader assessment of tourism's potential as a strategic instrument for strengthening resilience across Indonesia's maritime border regions. The study addresses the growing need to examine how non-military approaches can reinforce maritime sovereignty within the evolving Indo-Pacific security environment, where Indonesia requires a more inclusive and participatory geo-maritime resilience strategy that integrates hard security with soft power. Against this background, the study examines tourism not only as a driver of regional economic development but also as a strategic instrument for supporting national ideology, strengthening regional cooperation, and reinforcing socio-cultural resilience in strategically important maritime areas.

In geopolitical terms for the Asia and Pacific region, tourism is now perceived as a strategic resource that goes beyond its economic role and promotes national resilience, including through enhanced social identity, stability and soft diplomacy at the state level (Huang, Y., & Liu, Y. (2024); Wang, Q., Ren, F., & Li, R., 2024). The direct consequence of this shift is the move away from market-driven tourism towards tourism which serves as a strategic governance tool in relation to national security and development.

Several studies suggest that tourism neither directly nor indirectly intersects with geopolitics through the management of maritime space, transborder mobility or other forming factors of a state's negative (soft) power in the region (An, N., & Dittmer, J., 2023); Huang, Y., & Liu, Y., 2023). In an archipelagic state these dimensions are being used as instruments, since in a coastal and maritime country the spaces cannot only be seen as economic ones but also as areas to contest strategic interest and acknowledge state sovereignty.

The model consists of *Asta Gatra* as the foundation of national resilience and the Hexa Helix approach to model the interaction among actors, illustrated in Figure 1. Structurally, the ideological and institutional apparatus of the state is taught in *Tri Gatra* and *Panca Gatra*. At the operational level, governmental, business, academic, societal, media and technological relationships are constitutive of strategic tourism governance. The combination of these two levels has positive implications for consolidating national identity, improving maritime sovereignty, strengthening the development of border areas and socio-economic conditions in coastal areas.

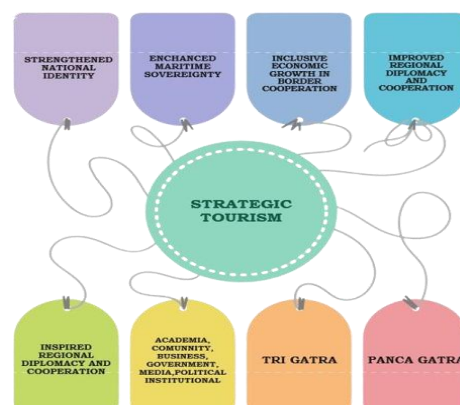


Figure 1: Geo-Maritime Tourism Resilience model

Yet, empirical studies rarely include tourism, geopolitics, and national resilience in a single analytical structure. Most of these studies frame tourism as economic value, creating an endless barrier between tourism and marketing without systematically discussing the relationship among them through geopolitical strategy and national resilience architecture (Khater, M., & Faik, M., 2025). This analytical shortcoming, therefore, means that relatively little is known about the potential of tourism to function as a strategic tool for the state in its response to regional geopolitical dynamics.

Through this gap, this study establishes a conceptual model of the integration of the *Asta Gatra* and Hexa Helix approaches to explain how strategic tourism can be used as a geopolitical instrument for Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Studies

This study adopts an integrated theoretical perspective that combines classical geopolitical thought, Soft Power Theory, the *Asta Gatra* framework, and the Hexa Helix governance model to examine the relationship between tourism and geo-maritime resilience. Classical geopolitical thought, as articulated by Mahan and Mackinder, associates national power with territorial control over maritime and continental spaces. Mahan emphasised maritime dominance as a foundation of national strength, whereas Mackinder argued that control of strategically important landmasses shaped global power relations (Berryman, 2018; Knutsen, 2014). Contemporary geopolitical scholarship expands these perspectives by recognising that national influence increasingly depends on economic capability, cultural projection, diplomatic engagement, and institutional capacity alongside military power. Within this context, tourism has gained strategic importance by strengthening territorial presence, shaping international perceptions, and reinforcing national identity through cultural representation, mobility, and spatial governance (Mostafanezhad, 2018; Weaver et al., 2023; Iaquinto et al., 2024).

Soft Power Theory, proposed by Nye (2004), provides a complementary perspective by explaining how states influence international preferences through attraction rather than coercion. Tourism represents one of the principal non-military instruments through which cultural narratives, social values, and national identity are communicated to international audiences while simultaneously strengthening domestic cohesion. Cultural experiences generated through tourism reinforce symbolic state presence, particularly in peripheral and maritime regions where sovereignty depends on continuous interaction between the state and local communities rather than territorial control alone. Integrating geopolitical thought with Soft Power Theory therefore provides a stronger analytical foundation for explaining how tourism contributes to territorial legitimacy, diplomatic engagement, and national resilience within the evolving Indo-Pacific geopolitical environment.

Within this study, *Asta Gatra* provides the national resilience framework for interpreting tourism's strategic contribution across geographical, economic, socio-cultural, political, and defence dimensions. The Hexa Helix model developed by Carayannis and Campbell (2012) complements this framework by explaining how collaboration among government, academia, business, civil society, media, and political institutions shapes governance outcomes. Coordinated interaction among these actors

strengthens policy implementation, institutional capacity, and adaptive governance, particularly in maritime regions characterised by spatial dispersion and geopolitical vulnerability. Integrating geopolitical theory, Soft Power Theory, *Asta Gatra*, and the Hexa Helix model therefore establishes a coherent conceptual foundation for analysing tourism as a strategic, non-military instrument that supports geo-maritime resilience and strengthens Indonesia's national resilience.

Empirical Studies

Empirical studies focusing on the nexus between tourism and geopolitics are still relatively scarce, especially those that adopt geo-maritime resilience as the major analytical lens. Nevertheless, several recent studies have provided an important conceptual foundation for understanding how tourism functions as a strategic instrument in the dynamics of power and state legitimacy. Huang (2022) shows that maritime tourism in China shapes the process of territorial socialisation through symbols, narratives, and experiences of coastal spaces, thereby contributing to the formation of state legitimacy and the strengthening of territorial claims. These findings confirm that tourism does not operate solely as an economic activity but also plays a role in constructing geopolitical meaning and national identity.

The Indo-Pacific region, An (2023), expands this understanding by demonstrating that tourism functions as a strategic medium in shaping geopolitical architecture through cross-border mobility, state image building, and cultural diplomacy. The research raises tourism as a field of interstate interaction affecting perceptions, beliefs and strategic stances within regional relations. Tourism therefore shapes power relations not so much through overt instruments of violence, but through discursive systems of representation and symbolism as well as social conduct. Some quantitative research likewise has proven a strong relationship between geopolitical stability and tourism industry development. Lee et al. (2020) have found that higher geopolitical risk is negatively related to the international tourist flows, which in turn influences national economic resilience. This result reasserts the fact that political stability and security are structural conditions for tourism sustainability, as well as the sensitivity of this sector to the world geopolitical environment.

As a form of soft power, Claro, M. F. C., Huguet, J. P., & Serrano, M. C. S. (2023). assert that tourism functions as a public diplomacy instrument that allows countries to construct and communicate national representation through destination branding strategies and cultural expression (Dinnie K., 2016). Within this framework, tourism becomes a strategic medium for countries to convey values, identities, and political narratives to international audiences in a persuasive and non-coercive manner. By integrating tourism into diplomatic practices and national branding strategies, countries can shape external perceptions while strengthening international legitimacy. Thus, tourism is not only an economic sector but also a foreign policy instrument that contributes to strengthening international influence and engagement in the long term.

Some literature states that tourism studies tend to focus on economic aspects and destination image, although recent research is starting to shift to a more integrative approach. Dredge et al. (2018) critique conventional tourism governance and advocate for the adoption of an interdisciplinary framework that recognises the interconnectedness of institutions and the interdependency of actors across policy levels. Farsari et al. (2021) argue that there is a shift towards network governance, as evidenced by the increasing number of actors involved in policy development and implementation outside the state

hierarchy. Parallel to this view, Amore et al. (2018) propose a multi-level analytical model in which landscape- and regime-level conditions are linked to actor-based dynamics, highlighting the "tension between structural constraints and agency-driven processes".

Fabry et al. (2019) state that regional resilience depends on decentralised governance and work-together patterns, in which co-orientation between actors leads to more flexible responses to complex dynamics at the local level. Taken together, these contributions signify recognition that the legacy, sector-specific models of governance are insufficient for confronting current policy challenges. A significant portion of this literature is conceptual, and there is only limited empirical evidence that shows examples of how a set of integrative modes would be operationalised. This gap points to the need for empirically grounded research capable of translating theoretical insights into actionable governance strategies.

Empirical research in Indonesia increasingly recognises tourism as an important contributor to national resilience through its role in strengthening economic stability, social cohesion, and institutional adaptability. Recent studies position tourism as an integrated governance system that shapes institutional capacity and societal resilience, particularly in regions characterised by socio-economic vulnerability and geopolitical sensitivity. Consistent with this perspective, Widodo and Salim (2021) and Fitriani (2020) argue that tourism development in border regions, particularly Natuna and Sebatik, reinforces state presence through the expansion of civil infrastructure and active community participation while strengthening national identity. Their studies further indicate that tourism provides a non-military mechanism for enhancing sovereignty and maintaining stability in geopolitically sensitive maritime areas.

Evidence from sustainable tourism research further reinforces this perspective. Khalisah Visiana et al. (2025) report that sustainable tourism practices strengthen financial resilience through economic diversification, institutional support, and adaptive governance mechanisms. The study indicates that resilience derives not solely from economic growth but also from governance frameworks that enable tourism destinations to absorb external shocks and maintain operational continuity. Similarly, Pramono et al. (2025) identify community-based tourism as an important driver of socio-economic resilience by promoting inclusive participation, collective learning, and local leadership. Comparative evidence further indicates that destinations supported by strong social capital and equitable governance structures possess greater adaptive capacity, whereas fragmented institutional arrangements weaken long-term sustainability.

The operational dimension of tourism governance further strengthens this perspective. Sugiarto et al. (2024) report that effective operational risk management enhances destination resilience by improving tourist satisfaction and loyalty, thereby increasing institutional preparedness under conditions of uncertainty. At the territorial level, Ariyani et al. (2024) identify varying capacities among rural tourism destinations in Indonesia to recover from external shocks, with adaptive performance shaped by both structural capacity and governance dynamics. Together, this body of evidence indicates that resilience in tourism destinations emerges from the interaction of economic, social, and governance factors rather than from isolated sectoral interventions.

Despite this growing body of evidence, existing empirical studies remain fragmented and often limited to discrete causal relationships. The interconnections among state institutions, business actors, local communities, academic institutions, media, and political structures remain insufficiently explored, particularly in relation to tourism as a

geopolitical instrument. This analytical gap points to the need for an integrative framework capable of capturing cross-actor interactions and their cumulative influence on geo-maritime resilience.

Responding to this gap, the present study adopts the Hexa Helix framework to examine how coordinated engagement among diverse actors can strengthen the strategic role of tourism in reinforcing Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience. By integrating geopolitical considerations, governance dynamics, and national interests, this framework provides a coherent analytical lens for understanding tourism not merely as an economic sector but as a strategic instrument embedded within broader statecraft. Accordingly, the study advances a conceptual model that situates tourism governance within a comprehensive geo-maritime resilience architecture, as illustrated in Figure 2.

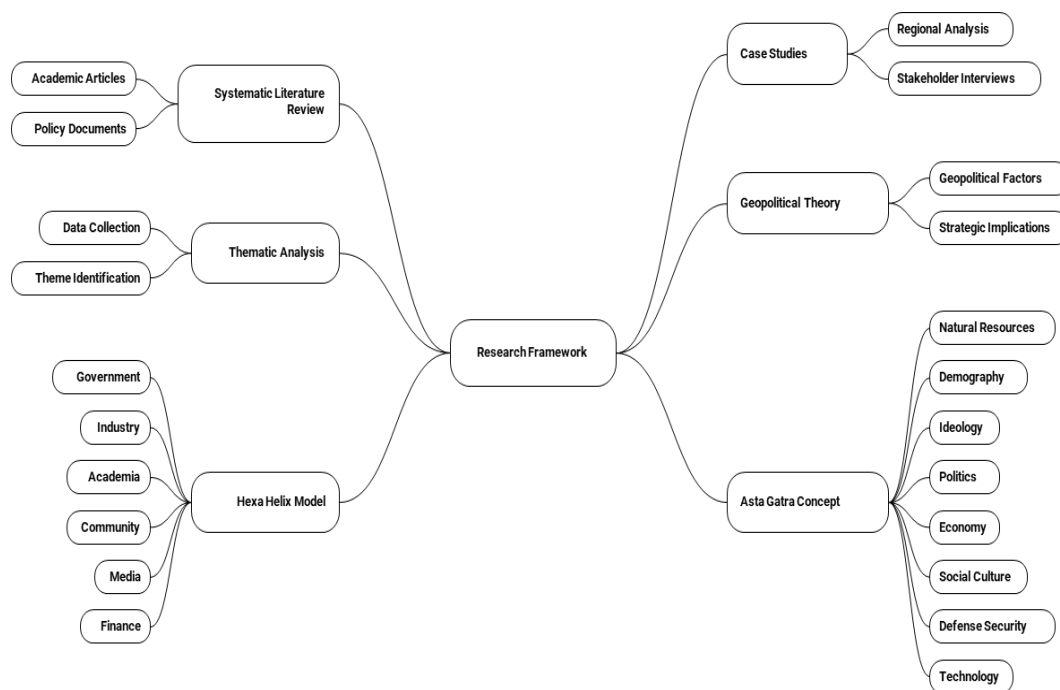


Figure 2: Research Framework for Border Region Dynamics

METHODS

A qualitative approach was adopted using a documentation-based literature review to examine the contribution of tourism governance to Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience within the Indo-Pacific context. This approach aligns with Snyder's (2019) framework, which positions literature review as a systematic method for identifying, evaluating, and synthesising scholarly knowledge. The analysis concentrates on maritime tourism governance in strategically important border areas, specifically Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai, chosen for their geopolitical significance and direct connection to national tourism development objectives.

Secondary data were drawn from peer-reviewed journals, government policy documents, international institutional reports, and national publications, including those issued by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (2023) and the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (2022). The selection of sources was based on the criteria of academic credibility, recency, and thematic relevance to geo-maritime resilience. The analytical process adopted a thematic approach, following Braun and Clarke's (2019), encompassing stages of coding, categorisation, and pattern development. This approach enabled the integration of geopolitical theory, soft power theory, and the Hexa Helix governance model (Carayannis & Campbell, 2012) to examine the relational dynamics between tourism governance and geo-maritime resilience.

To ensure analytical coherence, a conceptual framework is adopted as an interpretative guide rather than a prescriptive model, enabling a systematic reading of interactions among actors, governance structures, and geopolitical processes. The framework supports a reflective examination of how tourism functions as a strategic mechanism within broader configurations of national resilience. Analytical rigour is strengthened through source triangulation, whereby academic literature, policy documents, and institutional reports are cross-examined to enhance validity and consistency.

The study establishes a structured analytical foundation for assessing the interplay between tourism, geopolitics, and maritime governance through this integrative methodological design. The approach facilitates a deeper understanding of how governance arrangements, strategic interests, and socio-political dynamics converge to shape geo-maritime resilience, consistent with the principles of the *Asta Gatra* framework underpinning Indonesia's national resilience architecture.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Tourism Strengthens State Presence in Strategic Maritime Border Areas

Tourism initiatives across Indonesia's maritime border regions highlight the strategic contribution of non-military and community-based approaches to strengthening national resilience. Beyond generating economic benefits, tourism reinforces state presence across geographically dispersed maritime territories by integrating economic participation, public services, and cultural activities into local development. The experiences of Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai illustrate how tourism governance strengthens governmental visibility while supporting resilience in strategically important border regions.

In Natuna, marine tourism development promoted by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries and the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy has strengthened local economic participation while reinforcing state presence in strategically sensitive waters. Tourism activities centred on marine conservation, fisheries, and coastal attractions have expanded livelihood opportunities alongside closer collaboration between government institutions and local communities. Greater interaction among these stakeholders has strengthened public confidence in state institutions while reinforcing sustained governmental commitment across one of Indonesia's most strategically significant maritime regions.

Similar patterns are observed in Sebatik and Morotai. Tourism development supports public awareness of territorial integrity by increasing the utilisation of historical sites, coastal attractions, and local cultural resources. Tourism infrastructure, public facilities, and community participation strengthen perceptions of continuous governmental engagement while simultaneously supporting local economic activities. These findings indicate that tourism contributes directly to strengthening the state's visibility in maritime border regions characterised by high geopolitical sensitivity.

Tourism Reinforces National Identity through Cultural and Community Participation

The findings further indicate that tourism contributes to strengthening national identity by integrating cultural heritage, historical narratives, and community participation into destination development. Tourism initiatives driven by local governments and communities utilise historical narratives and cultural practices to strengthen national awareness while serving as a means of social consolidation and asserting sovereignty in regions with high geopolitical sensitivity.

Marine conservation programmes, traditional ceremonies, local festivals, indigenous knowledge, and historical heritage are incorporated into tourism experiences that communicate shared values regarding national unity and Indonesia's maritime identity. Rather than functioning exclusively as tourism attractions, these cultural assets become strategic instruments that reinforce collective memory and strengthen public attachment to the nation.

Community participation represents one of the most important findings across all three study locations. Local communities function not only as tourism service providers but also as custodians of environmental conservation, cultural heritage, and local governance. Their active involvement enhances the sustainability of tourism initiatives while strengthening social legitimacy and local ownership. Consequently, tourism contributes simultaneously to socio-cultural resilience, environmental stewardship, and national identity formation within Indonesia's maritime border regions.

Collaborative Governance Determines the Effectiveness of Tourism as a Geopolitical Instrument

Evidence from Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai indicates that the effectiveness of tourism as a strategic instrument largely depends on governance arrangements involving multiple stakeholders. Despite differences in socio-economic characteristics, all three regions highlight the importance of coordinated interaction among government institutions, local communities, and business actors in supporting geo-maritime resilience. Governance practices across these regions reflect the collaborative principles of the Hexa Helix framework, where government institutions provide strategic direction through tourism policies, infrastructure development, and regulatory frameworks. At the same time, communities preserve social legitimacy, cultural continuity, and environmental sustainability, while business actors strengthen local economic capacity through investment, entrepreneurship, and employment generation.

Institutional collaboration, however, remains uneven because academic institutions, political actors, and media organisations have yet to participate fully in tourism governance. Limited engagement among these stakeholders constrains knowledge exchange, policy innovation, public communication, and institutional learning, reducing the effectiveness of cross-sector coordination. Expanding the contribution of all Hexa

Helix actors would strengthen collaborative governance and improve tourism's capacity to support Indonesia's long-term geo-maritime resilience.

Tourism Functions as a Strategic Instrument for Geo-Maritime Resilience

Tourism contributes to geo-maritime resilience by strengthening local economies, consolidating national identity, and reinforcing state presence across maritime border regions. Economic diversification, cultural preservation, environmental stewardship, and territorial governance collectively expand multiple dimensions of national resilience within strategically important maritime areas. Evidence from Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai further identifies tourism as a geopolitical instrument when governance enables coordinated interaction between state and non-state actors, linking spatial management, social cohesion, and strategic interests within Indonesia's geo-maritime context. Coordinated governance that integrates economic development, cultural preservation, environmental management, and national resilience priorities consistently characterises tourism initiatives capable of supporting a coherent geo-maritime development strategy.

Discussion

Tourism extends beyond its conventional economic function by contributing to Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience through collaborative governance, cultural diplomacy, and community participation. Greater state legitimacy, stronger territorial governance, and closer social cohesion across strategically important maritime border regions highlight tourism's contribution to national resilience, which increasingly depends on non-military instruments alongside conventional defence capabilities within the *Asta Gatra* framework. Classical geopolitical theory provides an appropriate foundation for interpreting these outcomes by associating national power with territorial control and maritime dominance (Berryman, 2018; Knutsen, 2014). Although Mahan and Mackinder emphasised geographical and military control, contemporary geopolitical competition increasingly relies on integrating economic development, cultural identity, and governance into strategically significant maritime territories. Closer interaction between government institutions and local communities reinforces territorial legitimacy while supporting maritime sovereignty through sustained civilian engagement, illustrating how tourism complements conventional approaches to safeguarding maritime border regions.

Soft Power Theory proposed by Nye (2004) further explains this relationship by recognising attraction, legitimacy, and cultural influence as important complements to coercive power in achieving strategic objectives. Tourism promotes Indonesia's maritime identity, cultural heritage, and local traditions while strengthening public awareness of national sovereignty. Collaborative engagement among communities, visitors, and government institutions also strengthens social trust and collective identity, indicating that soft power contributes to both international diplomacy and domestic resilience through stronger public attachment to strategically important maritime territories.

Governance patterns identified across Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai further reinforce the relevance of the Hexa Helix model developed by Carayannis and Campbell (2012). Government institutions establish policy direction and regulatory frameworks, communities preserve cultural continuity and environmental sustainability, and business actors strengthen local economic capacity through investment, entrepreneurship, and employment generation. Institutional collaboration, however, remains uneven because

academic institutions, political actors, and media organisations have yet to participate fully in tourism governance. Limited engagement among these stakeholders constrains knowledge exchange, policy innovation, public communication, and institutional learning, reducing the effectiveness of collaborative governance and its contribution to geo-maritime resilience.

Previous empirical studies increasingly recognise tourism as an integral component of geopolitical governance. Huang (2022) argues that maritime tourism reinforces territorial legitimacy through cultural narratives and spatial experiences, whereas Huang and Liu (2023; 2024) emphasise its role in shaping geopolitical representation through identity construction, mobility, and territorial governance. An and Dittmer (2023) further associate tourism with stronger geopolitical interaction by influencing cross-border mobility, state image, and regional influence. Evidence from Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai aligns with this body of literature by reinforcing governmental legitimacy, strengthening national identity, and expanding Indonesia's strategic presence across maritime border regions. Within this context, tourism extends beyond destination development and contributes directly to territorial governance and broader geopolitical engagement.

Empirical evidence from Indonesia further reinforces this perspective. Widodo and Salim (2021) and Fitriani (2020) associate tourism development in border regions with stronger state presence and national identity through infrastructure expansion and community participation. Khalisah Visiana et al. (2025) identify adaptive governance as a key factor in strengthening economic resilience through sustainable tourism, whereas Pramono et al. (2025) emphasise the contribution of community participation to socio-economic resilience by strengthening local ownership and institutional capacity. Evidence from Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai aligns with this body of research by indicating that tourism strengthens territorial governance, maritime sovereignty, and geopolitical resilience while integrating economic, institutional, cultural, and strategic functions within a coherent governance framework.

Interpretation through the *Asta Gatra* framework further clarifies tourism's contribution to national resilience. Within the Geographical *Gatra*, tourism reinforces state presence and governance across Indonesia's maritime border regions. Within the Economic *Gatra*, tourism diversifies local livelihoods, generates employment opportunities, and strengthens regional resilience. The greatest contribution appears within the Socio-Cultural *Gatra*, where tourism preserves cultural heritage, reinforces collective identity, and strengthens social cohesion through community participation and historical narratives. Tourism also supports the Political *Gatra* by enhancing governmental legitimacy, institutional coordination, and public engagement in border governance, while complementing the Defence and Security *Gatra* through stronger territorial awareness, sustained civilian participation, and non-military approaches that reinforce national security in strategically sensitive maritime areas.

Although tourism offers important strategic contributions, several governance challenges continue to constrain its long-term effectiveness. Uneven institutional capacity, fragmented inter-agency coordination, and limited integration of academic knowledge and media communication reduce policy effectiveness. Strengthening institutional collaboration, expanding the participation of universities and media organisations, and promoting more systematic knowledge exchange would improve evidence-based policymaking and adaptive governance. The analysis confirms that tourism contributes to Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience when collaborative

governance enables effective interaction between state and non-state actors. Integrating contemporary geopolitical perspectives, Soft Power Theory, the Hexa Helix model, and the *Asta Gatra* framework positions tourism as an integral component of Indonesia's national resilience architecture capable of supporting maritime sovereignty, inclusive development, and long-term geo-maritime resilience.

CONCLUSION

This study indicates that tourism functions as a strategic instrument for strengthening Indonesia's geo-maritime resilience when supported by collaborative governance aligned with the Hexa Helix framework and the principles of *Asta Gatra*. Evidence from Natuna, Sebatik, and Morotai shows that tourism extends beyond its economic role by reinforcing state presence, fostering social cohesion, consolidating national identity, and enhancing territorial legitimacy in geopolitically sensitive maritime border regions. The analysis further confirms that the effectiveness of tourism as a geopolitical instrument depends on the quality of coordination among government institutions, local communities, businesses, academia, political actors, and the media. While government, communities, and the private sector currently play leading roles, the limited participation of the remaining Hexa Helix actors constrains integrated governance and reduces tourism's capacity to support Indonesia's long-term geo-maritime resilience. Overall, the study establishes tourism as a non-military strategic instrument capable of integrating economic, socio-cultural, political, and territorial dimensions within Indonesia's broader national resilience architecture.

This study is limited by its reliance on qualitative secondary data and its focus on three strategically significant maritime border regions, which may constrain the broader generalisability of the findings. Future research should strengthen the empirical foundation through comparative case studies, mixed-methods research, or multiple-case qualitative designs that integrate field observations, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and stakeholder surveys across diverse maritime regions. These methodological approaches would provide a more comprehensive understanding of governance dynamics while incorporating local institutional perspectives and community experiences. Further research should also develop and empirically assess an operational framework that integrates *Asta Gatra*, Hexa Helix governance, and tourism geopolitics using policy evaluation methods, including SWOT, PESTLE, or multi-criteria decision analysis. This approach would provide stronger empirical evidence for tourism policymaking while enhancing the practical application of geo-maritime resilience within Indonesia's national resilience framework.

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